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down to a few hundred. Lately there have been some indications of a new wave of immigration, but so far emigration has greatly exceeded the number of newcomers. Since the Armistice more than 23,000 passports have been issued by Czechoslovak Consulates in the United States to Czechoslovak citizens returning to their homeland. That means about 35,000 persons. Of that number possibly 5,000 have come back to America, either because they changed their minds or because they were going only for a visit. Of the 30,000 net decrease, 90 per cent are Slovaks. Very recently large numbers of Slovaks, especially from eastern Slovakia are emigrating to the United States; and if there should be no new restrictions on immigration, the Slovak total in America would return to its former figure in a very few years. In the meantime both Bohemian and Slovak fraternal societies feel the lack of new blood. Old members are dying and their place is no longer taken up by fresh arrivals. Children of the members prefer to join American fraternal organizations or take out insurance in the regular insurance companies. All societies paying death

benefits are losing in membership and have to raise their dues.

The same situation is felt by Bohemian and Slovak papers. The loss of old subscribers is not made up by newly arrived immigrants. Many weaker papers had to suspend, while the stronger dailies still make money, because the country has had unusual prosperity until lately, and advertising was plentiful and remunerative. A period of depression with loss of advertising will be severely felt by practically all the Czechoslovak newspapers.

Like every other immigrant group Bohemians and Slovaks look with suspicion on Americanization. They fear that it may mean suppression of their newspapers, prohibition of public meetings or possibly even of lodge meetings in their own language, registration and regular reporting of those who are not American citizens, and various other measures that savor of force. An Americanization program, if it is to be successful and not defeat its purpose by rousing opposition, must not come to the foreigner as a series of repressive regulations, but as a gift offered in the spirit of American liberty and democracy.

The Polish Group in the United States

By JULIAN KORSKI GROVE

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THE people of the Vistula Valley began to emigrate to America about 1850, thirty years before their real exodus with the flood of the "New Immigration." The character of this first migratory movement was agricultural. The Polish immigrants settled in Karnes County, Texas, and Portage County, Wisconsin, which became centers of further Polish colonization. In 1870 large Polish farming settle-

ments existed in Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska and North Dakota. They are still existing and in good condition. A survey made in 1909 by Professor John Lee Coulter of the University of Minnesota, and published in *THE ANNALS*, contains this statement: "No class of citizens, whether immigrants or descended from immigrants half a dozen steps removed, could ask for greater material progress, better

buildings—homes, churches, schools and town buildings—than the Polish settlements in Walsh County, North Dakota.”¹

Besides those large settlements in the West and Northwest there are smaller Polish farming communities with churches and parochial schools in Iowa, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Delaware. Many Polish truck-farms may be also found in the vicinity of larger cities in the Middle Atlantic States.

According to the United States census of 1910 the number of people, immigrants as well as natives, using the Polish language in their daily intercourse was 1,707,640. Of these 163,001 were residents of the six New England States, and 1,083,535 lived in the territory surrounding the Great Lakes and including the states of New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The rest, *i.e.*, 461,104, were distributed south and west of the Ohio and Missouri Rivers.

Another careful census made simultaneously by the Polish National League of America shows the number of Polish-speaking people in the United States to be 3,063,000, of which 407,000 have been found in New England and 1,930,000 around the Great Lakes. The remaining 1,326,000 were distributed south and west of the districts mentioned above.

There are 717 Polish Roman Catholic parishes in the United States, most of which possess parochial schools. Of these parishes 67 are located in New England (40 in Massachusetts), and 407 in the territory about the Great Lakes. Thus 474 Polish parishes are to be found in the four-

teen states north of the Ohio and Missouri rivers. The remaining 243 parishes are in the other 34 states. Besides the Roman Catholic parishes there are also about 50 parishes of the Polish National Church and several Polish Protestant churches, mostly north of the Mason and Dixon Line.

As compared with the total of the Polish immigration the number of Polish farmers in the United States is very insignificant. Surely nine-tenths of the bulk of Polish immigrants drifted into different American industries where unskilled labor is essential. Lured by good wages and the prospect of saving enough for the passage of his family to America, the Polish peasant became a city laborer, an unskilled factory worker or a miner, living in congested districts and slums near stock-yards, tanneries, foundries, mines, cotton mills, and other “unpleasant” industries in the regular “Immigration Zone.” The truth of this statement is proved by the fact that the six states belonging to the “Zone,” to wit, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio and Illinois contain 408 Polish parishes of the 717 in the whole United States.

The quality of the bulk of the Polish immigration in the prewar times is well illustrated by the registers of the United States Census Report for the fiscal year 1912-13. Of the 174,000 newcomers 82,000 were registered as farm laborers; 32,000 without profession; 30,000 as servants; 19,000 day laborers; 1,389 carpenters; 976 blacksmiths; 904 shoemakers; 886 tailors; 704 seamstresses; 657 locksmiths; 411 bricklayers; 404 farm owners; 223 textile workers; 150 millers; 130 merchants; 37 teachers; 28 printers; 20 priests; 16 civil engineers; 10 sculptors and painters; 9 architects; 3 editors; 2 actors, etc. It appears that the overwhelming majority of the Polish immi-

¹ See THE ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. xxxiii, page 377, published in March, 1909.

gration consists of unskilled workmen and farm laborers.

As with other groups of peasant immigrants the main difficulty of the Poles in America is the want of honest and intelligent leaders in social, educational and financial matters. Surrounded by swarms of heartless confidence men and rascals, who consider every immigrant their legitimate spoil and booty, they are exposed to every conceivable abuse with scarcely no one to protect them and to assist them in finding their right place in the American society which seems to be only too anxious to "Americanize" them.

But the present methods of Americanization are, with few local exceptions, too aggressive and supercilious to be considered as more than a source of constant misunderstandings, and an obstacle to a peaceful and friendly mutual appreciation between recent immigrants and the descendants of immigrants half a dozen steps removed. The impatient Americanizers, in their patriotic zeal, appear to forget that the most characteristic trait of every Pole is his intense patriotism, which makes it impossible to ever forget his mother country and his mother tongue out of pure gratitude for the new adopted country. Many thousands of Poles joined the American army in the last conflict and bought Liberty Bonds, but the same Poles have been so much Russianized, Prussianized and Germanized during the last century and a half, that they absolutely refuse to become Americanized by compulsion.

Instead of confining the method of Americanization simply to instructing the recent arrivals in the language and civics of the Commonwealth so as to enable them to find themselves in the strange surroundings, they are handled like prospective criminals or minors. In the evening schools for foreigners

they are instructed according to the most approved and silliest kindergarten methods in the hope to make proud American citizens out of the self-respecting and self-supporting mothers and fathers of large families. The general run of evening school instructors does not seem to realize that the problem of assimilation of immigrants through educational agencies is very complicated indeed.

An average Polish immigrant, living in a congested factory town, knows hardly any recreation after his daily work has been done. The evening school ought to be a logical place for his social intercourse just as his church is his place of devotion. The school, besides being his social center and besides giving him instruction in the American tongue and civics, ought to show him by means of visual instruction all the wonderful agricultural and industrial opportunities awaiting every ambitious and intelligent man and his family in this "Land of Opportunities." There is no doubt that by this sort of treatment the problem of Americanization would work out its own satisfactory solution sooner than most zealous American patriots ever expected inasmuch as it has been tried and has proved its value.

However, the most difficult part of the Polish problem in America is that pertaining to distribution of those thousands of immigrants who will soon clutter Ellis Island, despite all the restrictive and inimical legislation in the near future. An attempt to distribute the three or four million Poles packed in the Immigration Zone must be abandoned as a hopeless task.

The reports of the Polish National League make it evident that the Polish immigration wave is slowly spreading throughout the Northwestern territories reaching, up to this time, North Dakota. In Michigan it constitutes

10 per cent of the population; in Wisconsin, 12 per cent; in Minnesota, 6 per cent; and in North Dakota, 6 per cent. There are already two small Polish parishes in Montana, one in Idaho and two in Washington on the Pacific Coast.

All attempts to direct Polish immigration to the states south of the Mason and Dixon Line have been unsuccessful. The number of Poles in Texas, although they began to immigrate there long before the Civil War, never reached 30,000, while in Wisconsin, where they started to settle about the same time, their number crossed the 300,000 mark. Moreover, the Poles in the Northwest produced many professional men with university training, while the Polish settlers in the "Rice and Cotton Belt" during the seventy years of residence in that uncongenial climate have produced not one prominent representative either in science or in politics.

Polish peasantry, constituting the bulk of Polish immigration to this country, has always been agricultural. A Polish immigrant, considered as a type, is a highly skilled, professional farmer and home maker, but an unskilled factory worker. He belongs to the soil, and ought to be put on land instead of being lured by labor-agents into cities, factories and mines. By

helping to distribute Polish immigration on farm land the government would increase food production and decrease high cost of living as well as poverty and misery in congested city districts. One heroic attempt of our federal government at the solution of this problem resulted in the creation of a Bureau of Distribution and Information in the United States Department of Labor in 1907. It still exists, and distributes printed information in many languages among illiterate immigrants.

It is perfectly clear to everybody that the descendants of the permanent Polish residents in the United States will become as thoroughly assimilated and an integral part of this nation, as do descendants of other immigrants. But, as all others are conscious of their foreign origin and deep in their hearts harbor a sincere sympathy for the land of their ancestors, so it will be with the Americans of Polish descent. Before its resurrection, Poland used to call the Polish group in the United States its "Fourth Part," the three others being those under Russia, Germany and Austria. This group of over three million Poles is a sufficiently strong link to bind the two sister republics forever. The people of Tadeusz Kosciuszko will remain true to the great tradition of loyalty to the United States.

The Second Generation of Immigrants in the Assimilative Process

By THADDEUS SLESZYNSKI

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THE second generation of immigrants is considered by most writers and students as one group, thoroughly American. Because these young people are born in America, because they understand and speak

English, their assimilation is taken for granted. Closer observation and analysis, however, reveal the fact that this is not altogether true. There are several more or less distinct groups among these people, depending on the